

Hocart—Lau Islands, Fiji

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Formerly Naiiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa*; Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i you ni vanua*).

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NAIAU

Naiiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiiau's compound, the Naiiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu.

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The villages of Naiiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothiso; Liku. The inhabitants of Salyia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothiso was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.)

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THITHIA

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitam-bani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that

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they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

The *tauw* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauw*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vaia*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauw*; the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya; Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala; Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vavua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

"We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

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and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*). 614
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Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*. 614
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SOUTHERN ISLANDS

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later. 626

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES 7

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old, 621
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pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

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There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

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Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tavua* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

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Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

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In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

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Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I. H.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tavua*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

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Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy-elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

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canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kaka;
Me kau saka i thama a, latha.

The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatoŋgia*; if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataivalu, the founder of the present Lakemba dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kavavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatianitu. There are two villages on Oneata. Waingore (?Waingori) and Ndakuilao. Of old there was only one. The clans of Waingore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuilao they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiaa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*teitoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

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177 chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became
175 powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by
promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the
first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in
a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends,
he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He
seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as
a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when
the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan
Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they
had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835.
They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans.
During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850
the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern
islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood,
cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women.
The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-
magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were
said to be devils (*tevoru*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the
system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful
ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral
gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared
to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretly propitiated.
Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more
to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a
formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government.
Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into
coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting
to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs
were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were
not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered.
The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among
the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the
social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter
of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau,
offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for
copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work
on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra
after the war.

177 Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain
unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives
are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent
changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian
Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

636 The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in
Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (ex-
cept Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

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sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 871

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 631 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.